578 621 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

621 K6 578 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com- [629] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corrobcrated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrangement of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matrilocal. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirapé ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:— First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirapé social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

ALL MEN OF
status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes."

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for those unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

756 789 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term *"capitão"*. Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.*, page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoniká úwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership.

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north-

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirá, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader".

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

555 622 756 775 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a paca, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
171 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means
824 "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũa means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ', was a Pananĭvũána. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
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[608] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from
[621] birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũa, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kauuanõ̃, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kauĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
●[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
[177] this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

264 Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
476 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
574 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
[554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kauihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupáua of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxí, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ́ and Urukumĩ́. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

264 476 [422] [651] only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuíraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairí and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 857 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuírantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were [881] Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in [462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirõ group has its specific ornament 301 476 535 237 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

192 Concerning the word apatxirõ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirõ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [123] [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirõ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working